S.P. C.M. 648 exaggerated claims, without counting Turkey which is today the proprietor of the contested territory, without speaking of the Great Powers, especially Russia, Italy, and Austria, who have their eye on Macedonia.

000 From all of this whirlpool of literary, political, and scientific endeavors, a disinterested observer can draw today only these obvious conclusions:

S.P. C.M. 181 1). The Slavs of Macedonia and of Old Serbia represent a people whose national consciousness is not yet completely and equally developed, if we compare them with the two neighboring nations. However, it is beyond doubt that the largest portion of this people S.P. C.M. [795] feel themselves and proclaim themselves to be Bulgars, that they belong to the independent Bulgarian Church, whose head is the Exarch resident at Ortakioi. (1) On the other hand, it is certain that the

1. According to Brankov, there are in Macedonia 77% Exarchists and 23% Patriarchists. According to Hilmi, the proportion is entirely different. See above in Section 37. 1

name Bulgars is an historic name in these regions and that it has not been brought in through the religious propaganda of these recent years. Even though these regions were once annexed to the Serbian State, yet the name Serb has not taken root among the people. This is why in recent times the Bulgarian propoganda, both ecclesiastical and political, has found a very deep response throughout the country; Serbian propoganda has a chance of future success only in the northern region which is in contact with the Serbian Kingdom and has direct dealings with it; this region is Old Serbia.

S.P. C.M. 197 2). From a philological point of view it is true that the language of the Slavs of Macedonia presents an aggregation of local dialects rather distinct from one another. They form a sort of idiom which is intermediate between the Serbian stokavski and the Bulgarian language proper. (1) But taken altogether and in certain details it is much more

1. See Section 32, above. 2

S.P. C.M. [197] [198] closely related to the Bulgarian than to the Serbian. These special traits are the use of the postpositive article (used after the substantive), the loss of declension and the retention of the nasals. Only the dialect of the northern region is more closely related to the dialect group of Vranje, Nish, Timok, which Profesessor Belic assigns to the domain of the Serbian language, but certain philologists do not agree with him.

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Macedonian: Zagriži se za nego, i što ḱe izarčiš ḱe ti platam koga ḱe se vratam. 198

Bulgarian: Pogriži se za nego; i kakvoto poveče izdiviš, na vraštane az šte ti zaplatja.

COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

THE CHARACTERISTIC tendencies of Slavic evolution before the dissolution of unity are: (A) the complete abolition of aspiration (a loss common to all those Indo-European branches which did not set up a new *h* phoneme), and the persevering clear-cut opposition of voicing and voicelessness; (B) the consistent opposition of front and back vowels and accordingly that of 'soft' and 'hard' syllables, achieved by all kinds of mutual adaptation between vowels and adjacent consonants; (C) the recasting of prothetic semivowels (at the beginning of the word certain vowels require either the presence or the avoidance of an initial *v*, while other vowels that of an initial *j*); (D) the change of the short *u* and *i* into reduced vowels ('jers,' according to their Church Slavonic spelling name), the back ъ and the front ь; (E) the gradual elimination of closed syllables: loss of final consonants, simplification of consonantal clusters, reshaping of all diphthongs ending in *u* and *i* (*ou* > *ū*; *ei* > *ī*; *oi* > *ē*, but in final position *oi* is represented either by *ē* or by *ī*, going back to a difference in quantity), suppression of tautosyllabic groups 'vowel (dialectally only the non-reduced one) plus liquid or nasal': in initial position the group *ŏr** > *ra*; *ŏr* > *ra* only in the South Slavic area and Central Slovak, and > *ro* elsewhere; between consonants the groups *ŏr* and *ŏr* (1) changed into *ra* in the South Slavic and Czechoslovak area (with a parallel mutation of ъr into *r̥*), (2) dissolved into a disyllabic sequence—Polish-Sorbian *trot* (with a metathesis) and East Slavic *torot* (without a metathesis), (3) merged with ъr in North-Lekhitic; in those Slavic dialects where the groups *on*, *en* preserved the nasal, they were changed into ъn, ьn; (F) substitution of qualitative for old quantitative distinctions and development of new quantitative vocalic oppositions;

* *r* in these formulas stands for any liquid, *o* for any open non-reduced vowel, *ę* for any reduced vowel, *t* for any consonant.

194 (G) a prosodic pattern based on opposition of rising and falling pitch both in long and short syllables, with word-accent appended to the rising pitch and, in its absence, to the initial syllable (while the Balto-Slavic prosodic pattern had tolerated the word-accent on the second mora of any long syllable and on the initial or final mora of the word).

194 During the second half of the first millennium A.D., the diffusion
197 of innovations within the vast Slavic area became slower, and in particular regional divergences in their temporal order gave rise to certain dialectal features. Differently treated are: prothetic semivowels; vowels plus tautosyllabic liquids and nasals; *ě* (called *jat'*, the reflex of *ě* and *oi*); on the one hand the clusters *tj* and *dj*, and on the other, the fricative *x* when preceded by certain front vowels and followed by certain back vowels ('progressive palatalization') and furthermore, *x* before the reflexes of *oi* ('second regressive palatalization'): either only this *x* or only *tj*, *dj* become hissing sounds; *j* after non-initial labials; *t*, *d* before *l* and nasals; velars before the reflex of *woi*; front vowels before dentals followed by back vowels; the prosodic variety of the accented syllables (long and short, both either falling or rising) which underwent diverse regional modifications and limitations.

Some of the local innovations within the final Protoslavic period serve (1) to distinguish Eastern Slavic (*tort* > *torot*, ъ in *tъrt* had the same treatment as the strong ъ before obstruents, *dj* > *ž*, *bdm* > *m*, initial *j* disappeared before *u* and under certain conditions before *e* becoming *o*), and (2) to divide it into two dialects—Northern (the affricates *č* and *c* coalesced) and Southern (*g* became fricative): North Russian derives from the former, and the other Eastern Slavic speech-varieties from the latter dialect. The difference between Russian and Ukrainian will come later, in the twelfth–thirteenth century, when the tendency to use a common phonemic pattern still persists, but the etymological distribution of these phonemes is already somewhat different (e.g., both Russian and Ukrainian at that time developed the same diphthong *uo*, with the same prothetic *v* in initial position, but in Ukrainian, *uo* originates from *o* before a dropped 'jer,' and in Russian, from *o* under a rising accent). The formation of Byelo-Russian as a

whole will not start until the fifteenth century with its strengthening Polish influence. 194 197

Some dialectal innovations within the final Protoslavic period are common to the whole Western Slavic group (*tj*, *dj* changed to hissing sounds; all the palatalizations of *x* gave *š*). Except the change of the final group *jŏns* into *en* in the Slavic South, and *é* in the West and North, there are no common, exclusively Southern Slavic innovations: some changes link Southern with Eastern Slavic (velars undergoing the second palatalization were changed into hissing sounds; after labials *j* gave a palatal *l*; *d*, *t* were los before *l* and *n* except in some marginal Slovenian dialects and in Pskov-Russian); some other changes link the Southern group with Czechoslovak or at least with its eastern variant now represented by Central Slovak. Certain mutations were undergone by the whole central Slavic area (e.g., change of *g* into a fricative, attested in Czech, Slovak, High Sorbian, Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, South Great-Russian, and part of Slovenian). A wider spread of central isoglosses as opposed to a marginal pattern is the oscillation of '*ě*' between *e* and *i* and the connected change of the tautosyllabic groups *on*, *en* to the back and front vowels of the lowest timbre (*u* and mostly *ę*) everywhere except in the Lekhitic, Bulgaro-Macedonian, and in a part of the Slovenian area: here '*ě*' oscillates between *e* and *a*, while *on*, *en* became *ъn*, *ьn*; still preserved is the nasal component in the Lekhitic languages and in some border dialects of Slovenian and Macedonian.

The loss of the 'jers,' a feature which expanded slowly in the tenth–twelfth centuries from the Southwest to the Northeast of the Slavic world, was the last common Slavic mutation. Throughout the whole of the Slavic area the 'jers' were lost with one essential limitation: of the two 'jers' in the neighboring syllables, the last (called 'weak') was dropped but the preceding (called 'strong') changed into an unreduced vowel. The loss of the 'jers' destroyed the uniformity of the Slavic syllable—its openness and the harmony of its constituents—and therewith forced the prosodic reshaping of the Slavic languages. (1) *A*. Serbocroatian and Slovenian, and *B*. North Kashubian maintained or partly restored both distinctive features of Protoslavic word-prosody—pitch and quantity: type *A*

maintaining and *B* eliminating the quantitative opposition under accent. (2) Having abolished the rising pitch, Czech and Slovak, except for some transitional dialects, automatically fixed the accent on the initial syllable and maintained free quantity. On the contrary, the Eastern Slavic area and Bulgarian, with the adjacent Macedonian strip, abolished quantity in favor of free stress (this evolution is bound up with avoidance of vocalic contraction, whereas the maintenance of quantity implies new long vowels due to contraction). The intermediary zone between the languages with free quantity and those with free stress now presents neither quantity nor free stress—the latter is stabilized on the penult in Polish, Eastern Slovak, and Rusnak, on the first syllable in Sorbian and Southern Kashubian, on the antepenult in Western Macedonian. Thus we distinguish languages (3) without free stress and quantity and (4) with free stress.

The latter two types have a higher number of consonantal phonemes and clusters, the former two, especially the first one, a greater number of vocalic phonemes. The liquids assume a syllabic function only in the phonemic patterns of types 1A and 2; Czech excepted, they participate in the quantitative opposition. Type 4 tends to reduce the number of vocalic phonemes in unstressed position (e.g., to four in North Russian, to three—*u*, *a*, *i*—in South Russian and Byelo-Russian); type 1A reduces the phonemic inventory of velar consonants (mostly losing *x*, and in some Slovenian dialects even *k* and *g*). Only types 3 and 4 tolerate double consonants. Before losing the weak 'jers,' all Slavic dialects, except 1A, maintained the difference between ъ and ь and between the preceding consonants—palatalized before front vowel but not before back vowel. With the loss of the weak 'jers' this consonantal difference became phonemic, but in various ways was then gradually eliminated by 1B and 2, whereas the whole area 4 and most of the intermediary area 3 preserved or even strengthened this opposition. Except Slovenian and Kashubian, the languages which either did not develop or lost palatalization (softness) as a distinctive feature, acquired in different ways a fourth, palatal series of stops besides the labials, dentals, and velars (particularly so in Serbocroatian, Czech, and Slovak). Except for Slovenian,

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Serbocroatian, and some Bulgarian dialects where ъ and ь in strong position coalesced into *ə* or *a*, the strong ь in all languages became *e*, while ъ changed to *o* in the whole Eastern Slavic area, in Macedonia, partly also in High Sorbian and Central Slovak; everywhere else it changed to a corresponding unrounded vowel which later in 2 and 3 (but never in 4) coalesced with *e*. The vocalic phonemes of 4 are determined by the opposition of rounded and unrounded; and to the South moreover, the unrounded series splits into front and back: both for the higher and for the lower vowels the Ukrainian and the Bulgarian phonemic pattern distinguishes (a) unrounded front, (b) unrounded back, (c) rounded (back). The change of long vowels into decrescent diphthongs occurs only in the Western borderland of the Slavic world—in Czech, Polabian, and Kashubian.

In various regions of the Slavic world—in some Russian, Polish, Sorbian, and Serbocroatian dialects—the hushing and the corresponding hissing affricates, or generally sibilants, coalesced. A rare phoneme, the sibilant vibrant *r*, formerly common to the majority of the Western Slavic languages, is maintained in Czech and Kashubian.

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

THE AUTONOMY of the word and the markedness of word boundaries are preserved both in Protoslavic and in the modern Slavic languages; and there is a clear-cut difference between the treatment of affixes on one hand, and proclitic conjunctions or enclitic particles on the other. The root plus derivational and inflectional suffixes forms a simple word. A root preceded by another root or by a prefix produces a complex word. Prepositions are phonemically treated as prefixes. Derivational suffixes remain an extremely productive means for neology in Slavic languages. Prefixes play only a derivational role but prefixation as such has an important part in the building of Slavic verbal aspects. Alternations of phonemes are relevant auxiliary means in Slavic inflection; pivotal are prosodic alternations both in Protoslavic and in those Slavic languages which maintain in their word structure such